adjustment is leading to growth is leading to poverty reduction, as theory predicts. The problem is not having the data to prove it. Another version has it that the "stroke of a pen" reforms have been successfully instigated; but the deeper structural problems have yet to be addressed properly. There are problems of "implementation".

3.2 What are the questions?

The major question is "What have been the effects of recent macro-economic policies on poverty, and what policies might be recommended for the future?" The major empirical questions have been:
(i) Whether poverty, as measured by poverty lines, has reduced, increased, or stayed the same in the last few years. Whether policies being implemented have a fair chance of reducing poverty in the not too distant future. Economists have used the 1992 Integrated Household Survey data to explore the characteristics of the poor, the proximate determinants of household poverty (Appleton, 1994), the effects of structural adjustment on poverty (Ssemogerere, 1994), and regional poverty measured by the rural/urban distinction and by district.
(ii) What has happened in the social sectors? For education this is measured in terms of expenditure and enrolment; for health the interest has been in expenditure (including cost-sharing). There is also some longer-term analysis of the 1992 Integrated Household Survey exploring the determinants and consequences of education (Mackinnon et al 1995) and health and nutrition (see Mackinnon, 1994 and 1995, Balihuta and Ssemogerere, 1995) at the household level.
(iii) What is the role of agriculture in poverty reduction? A chapter of the 1995 Country Economic Memorandum (forthcoming) should be devoted to this but the contents are not yet certain. It is likely to argue for the importance of growth in the smallholder sector which dominates Ugandan agriculture and focus on productivity increases, the effects of price changes, diversification into new activities, and increasing household resources through saving or borrowing. Implementation of many related recommendations involve institutional, cultural and political factors discussed further below.
(iv) What has been the role of the social services in poverty reduction?

At the moment it is intended that another chapter of the 1995 Country Economic Memorandum will consider these issues. Evidence on health indicators and nutrition shows deterioration during the civil war: they are now very low. Enrolment in education seems to have increased during the war (although there are disputes about what enrolment actually means in practice) and the quality of education has probably deteriorated. There is evidence that the poor are more likely than the better-off to use public health services, rather than private ones, suggesting they are worse but more affordable for the poor. Whether this is seen as reducing poverty, or as an aspect of poverty, or maybe both, is a matter for discussion.

3.3 Defining poverty

In recent economic analyses poverty has been defined in terms of consumption and three measures constructed: a "head-count" index, "poverty gap" index and the "Foster-Greer-Thorbecke index, which incorporates a measure of changes in welfare among those below the poverty line (World Bank: Growing out of Poverty, 1993). Using total expenditure as the measure of welfare and a poverty line of U Sh 6,000 per capita (a daily intake of 2,200 calories plus some reasonable non-food expenditures) 55% of Ugandans were defined as poor in 1989/90. Life expectancy was 47 for men and 50 for women and the crude death rate 20 per 1000 while 45% of children aged 0-60 months has stunted growth.
3.4 Measuring poverty

Macro data from sub-Saharan Africa must always be treated with suspicion since its provenance is rarely known and it is known that much of it is "constructed". Household survey data collected by economists usually focuses on consumption, income, nutrition, health, education and again must initially be treated with suspicion which can only be removed by detailed knowledge of its provenance. While this is not true in all cases traditionally economists have paid scant attention to improving the quality of the data they analyse, something which is reflected in the absence of courses in data collection, survey design etc in economics courses. While sociologists engaged in cross-cultural surveys research will agonise for months over the wording of survey questions (are they valid? is measuring what the researchers want to measure; will the respondents understand them or should they be rephrased or redesigned to take account of local conditions? how should they be translated? can results be compared and aggregated when the questionnaire has been translated into a number of languages?) and worry about reliability and representativeness of samples, many economists take figures emerging from Government departments at face value (so long as they fit with their expectations or hopes) and in the case of household surveys have frequently left sampling to statistical offices, translation to the enumerators (on an individual basis), and assume that definitions, such as that of the household are unproblematic. This partly reflects the view that if the data is of good quality it will "work", if not, it won't, the view of a data consumer with no resource constraints rather than producer on a budget.

The failure to design survey research thoroughly, and in a planned long-term manner, has led to considerable problems in interpreting recent surveys done in Uganda (see Appleton 1994). Uganda has been proclaimed as one of the few apparent success stories of structural adjustment in Africa being among one of the three fastest growing economies on the continent (measured by government produced GDP and population figures). However, not everyone is convinced that the poor are any better off and some suggest they may even be worse off. There are two (nearly) nationally representative household surveys available for Uganda - one for 1989 and the other for 1992 which in theory should permit some assessment of how the poor are faring under a period of structural adjustment. However "their results are so at variance with each other that they do not seem comparable" (Appleton, 1994a). Taking the figures at face value there appears to have been a decline of 35% in real household consumption between the two surveys. Economists working on this data have chosen not to use the data to give substantive results on changes in poverty in Uganda, but to use it to illustrate the problems of measuring living standards from conventional quantitative household surveys. The major problems identified include different sample coverage, over-estimation of household size in one of the surveys, differences in questionnaire design, strategic reporting by respondents, different treatment in the coding of some items.

It is still not known whether things have got worse for the poor in Uganda or not. Being one of the few "success stories" of structural adjustment in Africa there is great pressure to find that things have got better. One possible explanation is that 1989 was a year of excellent (first season) and "very good" (second season) harvest, while 1992 was a drought year in some parts. This highlights the problem of comparing snapshots.

3.5 The causes of poverty

As mentioned above academic economists suggest the basic causes of poverty in countries like Uganda are basic conditions, shocks, and bad policies. Proximate determinants of household poverty are variables such as household demographics, education, access to land, parental background, region and season (see Appleton 1994). In a recent analysis of Integrated Household survey data from 1992
Appleton found no differences between poor and non-poor in returns to assets such as land and human capital. He also found marked diminishing returns to land contradicting the popular assumption of the inefficiency of small farms. Rural/urban differences in poverty are due to urban bias and segmented labour markets. Economists involved in policy advice often introduce institutional, political and cultural variables without admitting that what is what they are, or showing any interest in analysing them rigorously. For example, the World Bank Country Economic Memorandum Growing out of Poverty which was written in 1992 highlighted seven causes of poverty. Recommendations with non-economic implications are italicised (as are our comments in brackets).

(i) the slow growth in the agricultural sector due to low yields which resulted from: the very low application of modern inputs; reliance on traditional crops; the poor state of feeder roads, and the absence of effective financial intermediation; (also the success of government attempts to improve yields in the agricultural sector would depend on an effective agricultural extension service)
(ii) slow growth in the industrial sector due to: the lack of long-term finance; the lack of knowledge of foreign technology; and the lack of knowledge of foreign markets; (these do not seem to be causes to us but part of the process)
(iii) labour market distortions caused by: distended public sector employment and the lack of labour mobility;
(iv) low levels of expenditure on the social sectors; (depending partly on politics, partly on corruption, partly on inefficiency as well as lack of resources)
(v) discrimination against women in resource access, access to social services, and in labour opportunities;
(vi) low government capacity to deliver essential services due in part to the small budget for recurrent expenditures; and
(vii) the HIV/AIDS epidemic

3.6 Policy and poverty

The major recommendations from Bank economists for poverty reduction fall into two categories. First, are policies to accelerate economic growth: maintaining macroeconomic stability; a high rate of investment backed by domestic saving; high rates of numeracy and literacy; and growth in agricultural output through increasing yields, improved techniques, seeds, and access to markets and credit. Second are policies to provide key services to the poor by restructuring public expenditure in favour of primary education, health and rural infrastructure. Targeting the poorest and the most vulnerable is too expensive an option at present given the low revenue effort and weak administrative capacity. The provision of fundamental services in rural areas would help the poorest most (World Bank 1993a). Growing out of Poverty does not consider in any analytical way the problems related to implementation of these policies or the causes of these problems.

4. A Sociology of Poverty in Uganda

4.1 What are the problems?

Poverty is one aspect of a wider social and economic crisis which is afflicting Africa (Bangura, 1994). There has been an unspectacular response to SAPs, while African societies are increasingly characterised by social and ethnic polarisation, the emergence of multiple social identities and loyalties, informalisation and truncated modernisation, and stalemates in configurations of power. As part of the crisis long-run growth (at least as measured by governments) is not keeping up with
population growth in a sustained way, and poverty and differentiation are probably increasing. One of the problems is that we do not really know what is going in African economies, particularly in the rural and informal sectors. Household surveys might cast some light but we also do not know whether the questions are designed to and succeed in eliciting valid information about what is going on. We know very little about how institutions and organizations operate at the meso level.

4.2 What are the questions?

4.2.1 Questions of immediate relevance to economists’ projects

What follows are suggestions of how future sociological research on poverty might inform the economists’ approach. To our knowledge this kind of research has not yet been done. For example the sociological approach to the question “What have been the effects of recent macro-economic policies on poverty and what policies might be recommended for the future?” would involve looking at the following questions: What was intended, why and by who? To what extent, why and how were the policies implemented? What might have happened without the policies? With different policies? Which social groups benefited and which suffered? What have been the political consequences? A variety of measures of poverty and changes in it would be required.

Questions about education and health would focus on what actually is going on in the schools, health centres, traditional healer clinics etc. This would involve looking at curricula as designed, curricula as implemented, what “enrolment” actually means in terms of attendance, learning and achievement, what happens to school leavers, what are the effects of dropping out on future attitudes to work and life etc. A research programme on health would start by looking at how people define health, illness and healing, the services they seek, what they actually pay for them and in what form, the content and quality of those services (eg drug prescribing practices, traditional practices), the goals and values of health providers.

4.2.2 Prior sociological questions

The question that has not yet been answered in a sociological fashion is how do African economies actually work? How do they articulate with other aspects of social and political life and structures? In this context how are the different kinds of poverty generated? In the remainder of this section we describe the conceptual underpinnings of a sociological approach to these questions.

4.3 Defining poverty

A sociological research programme into poverty should focus on social change, and therefore be a long-term programme. It should have both an etic and an emic dimension used inter-actively to improve future conceptual analysis and empirical research. Here we start by using a conceptual model of poverty related to the model described above and we briefly explore local definitions and meanings of poverty. Future research should investigate definitions, attitudes to, and explanations of poverty in the different cultures of Uganda.

4.3.1 A sociological definition of poverty:

Aspects of the larger model defined earlier are used in Figure 9 to categorise five inter-linked
dimensions of advantage/deprivation. In practice many of these deprivations and advantages coincide and interact. At any point in time it would theoretically be possible to measure the distribution of advantages in a population. These distributions are envisaged as resulting from differential access to, and use of, power resources in competition with others. These power resources include the means of production, the means of violence, surveillance and mobilization, the means of persuasion, and the means of reproduction (see Figure 6). Since the exercise of power in any situation tends to bring advantage, which in turn can often be used as a power resource, dimensions of advantage/deprivation tend to correlate and can be regarded as convertible.

*Personal and physical deprivation* includes deprivation in terms of health, nutrition, disability, human capital, emotional deprivation, and lack of confidence. Deprivations experienced at one point in time can become part of a person's heritage with long-run effects.

**Figure 9:**
*Categories of advantage/deprivation*

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>personal</th>
<th>economic</th>
<th>social</th>
<th>cultural</th>
<th>political</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>health</td>
<td>income</td>
<td>human rights</td>
<td>values</td>
<td>local voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>nutrition</td>
<td>expenditure</td>
<td>national c'ship</td>
<td>beliefs</td>
<td>district voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>disability</td>
<td>consumption</td>
<td>local citizenship</td>
<td>attitudes</td>
<td>national voice</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>human capital</td>
<td>assets</td>
<td>status</td>
<td>knowledge</td>
<td>security</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>emotional</td>
<td>access to markets</td>
<td>social networks</td>
<td>information</td>
<td>hierarchical</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>deprivation</td>
<td>vulnerability</td>
<td>authority</td>
<td>orientation</td>
<td>position</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>lack of confidence</td>
<td>working time</td>
<td>independence</td>
<td>access</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>charisma</td>
<td>work experience</td>
<td>social integration</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>access to public services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>quality of public services</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>environmental resources (quality)</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Economic deprivation:* Poverty is most often analyzed in terms of economic deprivation which has a range of dimensions. In surveys used to assess poverty economists have tended to measure consumption (over a week or month), income, sometimes assets, and access to health and education services. It would be interesting to see more work exploring the relationships between these economic deprivations.

*Social deprivation* involves barriers to full participation in social, political and economic life which tend to go together. They are maintained by institutional structures, community processes and cultural values and beliefs held at social and individual levels. One major deprivation is the lack of human rights or failure to use those rights because of personal and economic deprivation. For example, while Uganda is a signatory to the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child, the 1992 OAU Charter on Rights and Wellbeing of Children and the 1989 Convention on Elimination of all forms of Discrimination against Women "children, adolescents and women still lack full access to basic needs and other rights necessary for their wellbeing and survival (UNICEF 1994:72).

At a level closer to home people may lack full national and/or local citizenship rights. In Uganda this applies to women, some ethnic groups in some situations, children, refugees and the disabled. People may also have low status in the community. This again includes women, some ethnic groups, and the disabled. It also includes the landless, the poor, orphans, and people with AIDS. Stigma also attaches to wage labour in some communities and to being unable to send a child to school. Status in African communities arises out of face-to-face relationships and is very important. In many communities people will choose to go hungry rather than be paid to perform tasks which are socially denigrating and will choose to spend money on clothes which enhance their appearance than
food. Men who have to sell their tin roofs are often regarded with scorn. In extreme cases poor people may be ostracised by the community they live in, or forbidden to participate in aspects of its life.

People who lack social networks of support (e.g., relatives, friends, clan) are also socially deprived, and in Uganda this also means economic deprivation. Dependence on others for a livelihood reduces control over one's life and choices.

**Cultural deprivation** includes deprivation in terms of values, beliefs, attitudes, knowledge, information, orientation and access. As a result people are unable or unwilling to take advantage of economic and political opportunities. They are often fatalistic. Important in the context of policies to increase economic growth or reduce poverty is the lack of access to values, beliefs, knowledge/information, and attitudes which would assist them in taking control of their own destinies, through seeking information, making choices, adopting problem-solving approaches, co-operation, and organization. It is important that donors, brought up in a different tradition, appreciate that local cultures provide security and other benefits which may be highly valued. Disrupting them may cause considerable distress.

**Political deprivation** means that people lack political voice at local, district and/or national level. They find it difficult to get access to legal institutions. A recent study of inheritance (WLEA, 1994) has shown that economic constraints and ignorance and illiteracy undermine the access of women and the poor to legal structures. People who are politically deprived may occupy a lowly position in an authoritarian hierarchy and be subject to coercion through physical or economic threat. During recent regimes in Uganda virtually the whole population was politically deprived. Currently it is women, children, some ethnic groups in some situations, people in isolated districts, refugees and the poor who lack political voice. This type of deprivation has policy implications for attempts to re-orient public services towards the poor.

**Deprivation interaction:** these deprivations interact and combine with each other in different ways for different kinds of poor people, with varying policy implications. Three examples, considered in more detail in Appendix 1, are people with disabilities, orphans and pastoralists. The major problem people with disabilities face is cultural: stigmatization and misconceptions about their physical and mental abilities. This then leads to other forms of deprivation: economic, social, political and other cultural. Education through the schools, the media, and other public fora, the encouragement of self-help groups, targeting medical care and education, would be appropriate policies. Two major problems for orphans are continuing education, and keeping their rights to land until they grow up. Programmes for supporting orphans in education must be long-term, while some form of land registration for orphans should be considered for administration by RCIs. Pastoralists would be helped most by improved marketing facilities, improved veterinary services, improved communications and access to services, an insurance scheme, and safety net measures for bad years.

### 4.3.2 Indigenous definitions of poverty:

People in Uganda do not regard poverty in the same way as people from Western modernised societies and people within Uganda do not necessarily define it in the same way as each other. For example, the Zambia Poverty Assessment found clear gender differences in definitions of poverty: women tend to emphasise the availability of food and traditional safety net structures while men emphasise access to productive assets. The rural poor in Zambia were defined by rural people as: having many mouths to feed, being a single provider household which tended to be femaleheaded, having an old or young household head, especially if they have no access to traditional support, having AIDS, having a household head with low levels of education, having no access to good quality assets, having no land, being a long way from community services, lacking perceived personal safety. Urban residents questioned defined the poor as living in small houses, with big families, who can eat only 1, possibly 2 meals a day. They are not employed and have no money. These definitions need